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ABSTRACT

The Bernard van Leer Foundation's seminar on early childhood education and care in multicultural societies brought together 31 project leaders and independent specialists from 19 countries for a consideration of common problems of multicultural education. Participants were selected for their expertise in working with minorities and migrants in early childhood care and education. Outstanding educators outside of the Foundation's network were invited in an effort to broaden participants' field of reference. This document's summary report and conclusion consist of 80 concisely addressed topics. The document is organized around four general categories: (1) the process of building on the cultural resources available from the cultural pluralism of modern society; (2) the roles of the family and the community in forming the young child; (3) bilingual and bicultural education in the classroom; and (4) the process of strengthening the community's capacity for the education of the child. Concluding remarks focus on the debate on multicultural education, motivation to learn, repressive aspects of a monocultural or nominally multicultural learning environment, student drop-out, teacher job satisfaction, collaboration between home and school, objectives of multicultural education, multicultural early childhood education, use of indigenous resources, and the aim of equitable institutional access. (RH)

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Multi-Cultural Societies
Early Childhood Education and Care

Summary Report and Conclusions

PS 018310

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International Seminar
with the co-operation of the
Fundación General Mediterránea
Granada, Spain
6-15 June 1984

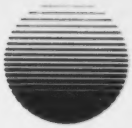
The Bernard van Leer Foundation, which bears the name of its founder, is an international non profit-making institution dedicated to the cause of disadvantaged children and youth. Its present programme provides for financial and professional assistance to innovative projects that develop low-cost community-based approaches in early childhood education and care in order to help socially disadvantaged children to fulfil their innate potential. These projects aim to enable those children, within their natural environment and through interaction with their families and community, to benefit fully from available opportunities for educational and social development.

These projects are not run by the Foundation itself, but are in all cases planned and implemented by national and local institutions, both public and private. The Foundation considers it crucial that successful outcomes of projects should have a wider impact, both in programme and in institutional terms. In this way positive results of Foundation-supported work may ultimately be incorporated in education policy, planning, administration and practice. For this reason Foundation projects are carefully evaluated and the international exchange of experience and materials are considered essential to the objectives pursued.

The Foundation currently provides grants and services in more than thirty countries. Its income is derived from the Van Leer Group of Companies of which it is the principal beneficiary shareholder. In accordance with its statutes, the Foundation gives preference to activities in countries where the Van Leer Group has subsidiaries.

Executive Office
P.O. Box 85905
2508 CP The Hague
The Netherlands

Bernard van Leer Foundation



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Early Childhood Education and Care

Summary Report and Conclusions

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with the co-operation of the
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September 1984

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Introduction

The Seminar on "Multi-Cultural Societies: Early Childhood Education and Care", took place in Granada, Spain from 6-15 June, 1984 with the co-operation of the Fundación General Mediterránea. Working sessions were held by courtesy of the University of Granada in the ancient and historical Arab university, Palacio de la Madraza.

It brought together 31 project leaders and independent specialists from nineteen countries. Participants were selected for their expertise in working with minorities and migrants in early childhood care and education. Major international organisations represented were the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Seventeen national observers and representatives of "Proyecto Andalucía", the City and University of Granada and the Andalusian Regional Government's Department of Education contributed further important dimensions to the seminar. A complete list of participants, including international and national observers, is provided in the Appendix to this report.

The Foundation's seminar programme has in the main been based on regional affiliations, enabling closer links to be built up between projects mostly within the same continent. The Seminar in Granada attempted to combine the most useful characteristics of the regional seminar programme with wider international programme comparison and review. This seminar was also the first to be held in Europe.

The selection of the Andalusian region of Spain as the venue has particular significance. The region has special cultural and historical traditions, as the recent formation in Andalusia of a provincial government indicates, and is also the home of one of Spain's largest ethnic minority communities. In addition, the Foundation's first major project in Spain is based there. This project is also carried out in collaboration with the Fundación General Mediterránea.

"Multi-Cultural Societies: Early Childhood Education and Care" is one of the three major themes on which the Bernard van Leer Foundation is basing its work in the current decade. Its importance can hardly be overstated. Major international trends point to reduced levels of attainment and increased levels of stress among many children from minority cultural background, and tensions between majority and minority communities. Conversely early childhood is the critical period when it is possible to work preventively with young children and families, and to align intervention efforts closely with the family and community setting to promote a more productive experience of life and learning.

An immediate aim of the seminar was to offer an opportunity for those Bernard van Leer Foundation projects which are related to multi-cultural education to consider

common problems. Outstanding educators from outside the Foundation's network were invited to participate in the seminar to broaden the field of reference. Participants represented therefore a wide variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They were able to speak at first hand about innovative work with rural indigenous minorities, urban migrant and minority groups in Europe, Latin America, Africa and the U.S.A.. In addition, the projects present were at different stages in their development. Some were in the process of devising national or international programmes of dissemination following lengthy periods of action-research; others were still in the pilot, conceptual or pre-operational stages. Seminar participants were able then to distance themselves from their own projects and to consider, with their peers, overriding theoretical and operational concerns.

The seminar was organised around an open structure of plenary sessions and small groups based upon the following general themes: Cultural Pluralism in Modern Society: Building on Cultural Resources; The Early Years: The Role of Family and Community in Forming the Young Child; Bilingual and Bicultural Education in the Classroom; Strengthening the Community's Capacity in the Education of the Child. The keynote address was delivered by Professor Federico Mayor Zaragoza of the University of Madrid. The four plenary theme addresses were given bij Dr. Finlay McLeod, Consultant to the Western Isles Community Education Project, Scotland; Dr. José Amar Amar, of the Universidad del Norte, Colombia, and Director of the "Proyecto Costa Atlántica"; Dr. Henning Johansson, University of Umea, Director of the Project for Multi-Cultural Education of the Young Child in Northern Sweden, and Dra. Guadalupe Elizondo Vega, Director General of the Department of Initial Education in the Mexican Government's Department of Education. The addresses contributed significantly to the range and scope of the discussions. A full report including the complete texts of the major addresses, will be published in due course in English and Spanish.

The Foundation's policy of siting each seminar in the area of one of its sponsored projects is an attempt to provide immediate local reference points and practical relevance to the needs of the field. "Proyecto Andalucía" has operated over the past seven years in the cities of Córdoba, Granada and Sevilla and more recently in remote rural areas around Granada, pioneering in those communities alternatives in early childhood care and education through training and deploying parents as para-professionals. The project is active both in districts where cultural traditions seem hardly to have altered in the present century, and in others characterised by rapid migration to the city with resultant loss of cultural and social unity. It thus reflects similar movements of peoples and sub-cultures throughout the world.

The seminar was further able to benefit from its association with a national meeting which immediately preceded it. This brought together educational specialists and policy-makers from throughout Spain to reflect on the implications of the Andalusia project for their own work and to consider key issues arising from the project, for example how best to involve the family closely in the learning/teaching process, ensuring the integration within it of local lifestyles and cultural values.

The fundamental ideas highlighted throughout the international seminar affirmed that cultural differences in fact constitute a vital resource, a social strength rather than an educational disadvantage, for families and young children. This perception has evidently begun to gain ground even among nations which have long sought to diminish minority cultures in an effort to enhance national unity, a strategy which clearly has not provided the expected results. The prevailing perception of minority cultures as in some way inadequate is then strongly challenged by recognition that a rich cultural life such as minorities enjoy has important consequences, not least in helping young children to develop a positive sense of self and in contributing to productive educational and social experiences. The cultural and other resources to help minority children succeed, rather than fail, within education systems therefore already exist. The onus is however upon educators – and, indeed societies – to recognise these resources and use them sensitively and appropriately.

A public exhibition was mounted in the Palacio de la Madraza to coincide with the seminar. It comprised an extensive selection of books, learning materials and information contributed by participants, Foundation publications and a photographic display illustrating project activities. Participants went on field visits to "Proyecto Andalucía", including a local nursery school serving a working class population living in high rise apartments, and to the rural outreach programme serving isolated families. In the course of the seminar, a series of audio-visual presentations was given by participants on their work and provided a further opportunity for detailed consideration of innovative approaches related to the general theme.

Finally, special mention should be made of the part played by the Fundación General Mediterránea in the organisation and operation of the Seminar in Granada. Both the Bernard van Leer Foundation and the Fundación General Mediterránea adhere strongly to the viewpoint that modern philantropy has an important role in focussing public attention on key issues of the day in their respective fields of interest. The Granada Seminar was one such example.

Summary Report and Conclusions

Cultural Pluralism in Modern Society: Building on Cultural Resources

1. There has been in recent years a swing away from the notion that one of the principal aims of "the state" is the promotion of national unity via uniform, standardised services. Increasingly, the "normative" approach, reflected in the so-called "melting pot" theory, is seen for exactly what it is – a strategy which itself brings disadvantage to children whose lifestyle, language, cultural heritage and social patterns do not conform to supposed national norms.

2. An instance of changing public policy is provided by the British example. In 1968 the then British Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, made a celebrated public declaration on policy for a society which had gone through an era of increasing immigration. He stated that British society should envolve on the basis of integration. This was seen not as "a flattening process of assimilation but providing equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance". This declaration was succeeded by a series of institutional measures, notably the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality, which placed Britain in the late 1960's in the forefront of thinking and practice on how modern industrial society could cope with the fact that it was plural in social composition, the home of many cultures and traditions, both indigenous and imported from abroad.

3. The educational counterpart was a series of experimental measures, initiated by national and local government, which sought to address the issue of equality in the workings of the educational system, notably the Educational Priority Area Programme, directed towards the needs of the increasingly multi-ethnic "inner city". These had the aim of reflecting, in part at least, the needs of cultural minorities in the work of the school, recognising cultural differences as positive rather than negative features of society, assets to be built upon rather than "problems" to be remedied.

4. Viewed more widely, this growth in consciousness was not always absorbed and applied at the level of national policy and practice. There has been in the very recent past, prompted partly, but surely not entirely, by the current economic crisis, an abrupt and distressing shift in national policies, led ironically by the U.S.A. and Britain, towards earlier positions which take little account of socio-cultural diversity. The British standpoint – admittedly a minority view – in the June 1984 meeting of European Ministers of Education contends that maintenance of minority cultures is a private and family concern, not to be considered as a policy priority for government. In the United States, similarly, there have been radical cutbacks in special programmes for minorities, notably bi-lingual education programmes. In some Third World countries, notably Peru and Mexico, there has been a trend towards more flexible approaches in educational policy which permit the expression of other cultures within these societies. The degree of priority given to this question varies. In societies where

children's survival is paramount, caring for the culture must take a lower priority.

5. It is noteworthy that the latest changes in the U.S.A. and Britain are based upon ideological considerations rather than empirically-derived conclusions. The switching of educational resources, whether towards or away from the promotion of education for a multi-cultural society, has not been based on the *facts of the matter*. Political ideology, not research findings nor rational argument, appears to be the basis of these policy shifts. Despite this, *the facts of the matter*, based on demonstrated practice, merit repetition. For children from minority cultures, especially in the critical early years when first processes are being mastered and identity is being formed, effective learning best occurs in an environment in which the child can grow naturally from the known to the unknown. This means early learning in his own, not an alien language, based on the symbols that prevail in the daily life of his family and community. The child can then move confidently onwards and outwards from his own environment, coping more effectively with the demands of others.

6. The converse situation is that, for minority children, formal education through the medium of the dominant culture poses a special and unusual set of demands. This is not only a question of the additional burden of second language learning. For such children standard educational "processing" often devalues what they are, damages their image of themselves, their families and communities, limits their achievements in schools and often ensures that they remain as adults in a dependent and subordinate position in society as a whole. The dominant culture, and its expression through normatively-based educational systems, becomes thus an instrument of repression.

7. The problem has conventionally been seen as deriving from the rapid movement of peoples, for example within Europe or the Americas, from less developed rural areas to developing industrial areas. There is a similar trend relating to areas affected by industrial transformation, for example the transition from traditional to high technology industry. With some abruptness, many societies which had an assumed homogeneity became perceived to be multi-cultural and plural in construct. Consciousness of this plurality, and the resultant attempts to respond to this, led in some cases to an improved understanding: first of the special needs of indigenous minorities, themselves victims for generations of regression towards the mean; secondly, that the workings of educational systems could be also discriminatory so far as working-class children were concerned. Again children were exposed on entry to the school system to teachers and curricular demands whose norms and practices were frequently alien to the patterns of living with which they were most familiar. The "Born to Fail" notion thus spreads across a wide spectrum of institutions, groups and children. The issues and processes affecting the education of indigenous minorities and migrant children reveal similarity of experience with that of working-class children and indeed children in many rural areas.

8. At the root of the problem is the fundamental issue of wat culture is and how it relates to the lives of those governed by it and how culture affects, positively or negatively, the quality of people's lives and the kind of educational and social services they receive. Many general definitions of culture can be formulated – how people live

and their daily practices in doing so; how we relate to space, time and other; how we organise ourselves, construct a philosophy of life, define shared values, achieve aesthetic satisfaction and develop a language which is the expression of this totality; how we educate ourselves and our children, with what values, purposes and structures. In practice, in many so-called multi-cultural contexts, it is clear also that "culture", used loosely, also has social class connotations. It can be a manipulative device in support of the domination of one class by another, the dominant culture impinging upon and eroding that of the subordinate.

9. This is not a sentimental plea for cultural preservation *per se*. Preservation as a guiding principle has indeed been shown to be unworkable. Culture, and its practical expression, is dynamic. Man in society is constantly adapting to that fact. Even situations of cultural stagnation have within them a capability for dynamic growth. Viewed in this way, there can be no superior nor inferior cultures. Each culture is legitimate for those who practise it. What is clear is that there is an interdependence between material and non-material aspects of culture and that it is through the understanding of this interdependence, and the inherent traits which typify the culture, that development becomes possible.

10. The key issue in any debate on multi-culturalism or cultural pluralism is how this interdependence can be made to work for development of society as a whole. The failure to base development efforts on the cultural mainsprings of societies which have been historically victimised accounts for the repeated failure of many externally-motivated development efforts this century. In this respect no lessons appear to have been learned by the policy-makers, or those who control the deployment of resources, from the failure of the Leverhulme efforts to construct model Hebridean villages in the 1920's, "groundnut schemes" in Tropical Africa after the Second World War, collective re-settlement in Tanzania in the name of progress in the 60's, and even more significant, the still prevalent concept of compensatory education for the "socially and culturally disadvantaged".

11. All these attempts to "improve" the status of specific cultures and peoples suffered from a similar monofocal approach, were essentially mechanistic in their underlying thinking and did not take account of the interdependence of the material and non-material aspects of culture. This basic omission lies at the very root of their failure.

12. An alternative, more effective position is an awareness at all levels, but particularly at the level of the policy-maker, that man lives in several dimensions and is endlessly influenced by the natural environment in which he lives. Similarly he is influenced by time, which gives him a historic past, a way to view the present and a sense of the future. He carries out activities as a member of a society, and identifies with fellow members of that society, co-operating with them in the maintenance of the group and the assurance of its continuity. These concepts are critical to the development of sensitive, community-based responses to needs in plural societies.

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13. Although the many variables which determine behaviour are almost always the same, the way in which these interact means that each human group is rooted uniquely in its environment. Despite powerful pressures towards standardisation and modernisation, the individual social group itself must retain the ultimate responsibility for transforming its environment, if change is not to dislocate and devalue their way of life.

14. Applying this to multi-cultural education means enabling people to have access to as much information as possible, providing opportunities for people themselves (not professionals) to consider and discuss their own needs, desires, life-styles, personal characteristics and potential. This encourages in them the confidence to make their own decisions and choices. This process to be effective begins at the level of the child and family.

15. Such an approach to education is encapsulated in the work of Paulo Freire who describes education as "the practice of freedom – the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world". This perception is highly critical of traditional didactic teaching where knowledge "is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing". Experience within the Foundation's extensive range of projects in highly varied settings confirms a major principle of parenthood education, that such work should be based on the belief that parents certainly know more about their individual child or children than any educator. The "educator" may have a broader, more generalised knowledge about parenting skills that appear to be most effective. Such knowledge is only useful to parents when it is accepted by them as not incompatible with their own values, life-styles, needs and desires.

16. The preceding analysis has sought to underline the irrelevance and inadequacy of many past responses to the educational and social problems of plural societies. These responses have been often well intended, but have been distorted either by their *source* (e.g. a well-meaning but culturally conditioned government offering functional literacy programmes), or by their underlying *conceptualisation* (e.g. compensatory programmes for the "culturally disadvantaged" which seek to adjust minority or working-class children to school systems which are biased against them). Whatever the causes, it is clear that many societies, "developed" and otherwise, continue in a state of fluidity and change. Social policies devised to meet this process do not always provide a sensitive response. The resultant stresses within many contemporary societies also provide an occasion for rethinking and taking more positive action on how the needs of a plural society can be met.

17. There is a range of scattered experience, inevitably bound by the context but at least giving rise to several working principles, indicating that sound multi-cultural education can be a reality and can benefit majority and minority alike. The recognition of our differences, and building upon these in educational terms, can be a positive force for promoting greater, not lesser, social stability and enhanced opportunity. It can serve to off-set the frequently tragic consequences of the repression of differences.

18. There are several notable examples which strikingly combine the fact that the predicament at the heart of the matter is a mix of cultural and class factors, of "dominated" minorities drawing upon their own inner dynamism to promote their social advancement and changing and enhancing their status. The example of the Malaysian Chinese community's accomplishments within a school system which is designed to afford maximum opportunity to the indigenous Malay community is perhaps the most obvious. The Basque co-operatives provide a similar instance. The recent accomplishments in education and in the professions of the forcibly transplanted East African/Asian community in the United Kingdom is another. On a smaller scale, experimental work in "fringe" communities in Scandinavia, Britain and to an extent Ireland has shown that "it is never too late to fight for a language and a culture". Even where the language appears on the verge of expiry, the passive awareness of it that persists can be fanned to bring about more active understanding, restoring local pride, improving minority self-image, thus acting as a positive force for change.

19. Reviewing such seemingly diffuse examples reveals one broad underlying principle. In the major urban conurbations of the world, such as London, Los Angeles, New York and Sydney, where the milieu is characterised by a multiplicity of cultures, a new society is emerging with many sounds and faces in which the class argument applies as forcefully as ever. To meet this – that is to devise a form of education in each setting which is genuinely multi-cultural – the only hope is for the various component cultures to work together. This should stimulate responses in the "system" which will serve the collective needs of all, and therefore promote a genuine state of cultural democracy.

20. In Latin America some indigenous populations have kept their languages and cultures. They live in different situations with many-faceted problems. Their right to better their quality of life, in a way that respects their own characteristics, has been recognised. In Mexico, Colombia and Peru, for example, the state has conceded their right to be educated initially in their own language. As to rural populations, the focus of education is to try and help them get the most out of their environment; as to marginal urban populations the aim is to raise their level of integration and reduce the disadvantaged situation in which they are living. It is critical that the efficiency of the application of these policies be improved, especially regarding "community participation" as defined in this report.

21. Building cultural pluralism must be the result of social and political change, as well as of changed psycho-social processes and changes of attitude. What must in the end be transformed are the processes of decision-making and participation. The objective is clear, but the strategies for achieving it are not. It is the societies themselves that must find a solution – learning through participation. In other words, nothing can be done *for* people; it must be done by the people themselves within a supportive political framework.

The Early Years:
The Role of Family and Community in Forming the Young Child

22. Multi-cultural situations make a universally valid concept of the family impossible; all peoples are to a certain extent the formal expression of the institution of the family and may generate structures based on extended families or on non-blood relationships. The "family" nevertheless constitutes the intermediate institution between man and society and exerts the greatest educational influence on the child in the early years. The family, especially in these early years, is the natural environment in which the child grows and develops. The desired role of the family is to create suitable conditions for his healthy physical care and psychological growth. Through this institution, the child learns to communicate, to think, to act and to establish emotional relationships with other people.

23. Within a multi-cultural context, although child-rearing habits are very varied, parents – whatever the family structure – are always interested in the child's best possible development, both at the material and the emotional level. Thus an important task for the family is to be able to exert a positive influence on the development of the child. This may be achieved through the creation of support systems for the family's educational role, strenghtening its cultural impact and promoting greater expectations for the child's learning. This is not a question of *educating* the family (reverting again to the problems of the paternalism of the system) but rather of establishing a transaction between equals, since the family will necessarily have a great deal to contribute to education. For professionals, this process demands skills not previously recognised as relevant in teacher training courses, social work schools or training for community medicine. It is for this reason that, within the less formalised sector of early childhood education, new approaches to families which use other parents as para-professionals are increasingly prevalent.

24. In working with families their basic needs have to be recognised and met before educational programmes *per se* can be mounted. It is useful to think of this in terms of a hierarchy of needs, from the most basic, such as the need for food and shelter, to the most advanced, such as the development of self-help skills and personal abilities.

25. In many situations of extreme poverty, parents can take account of little other than the child's most basic needs and understandably may find it impossible to begin to devote energy or time to nurture the child emotionally and intellectually. In the harsh conditions which many families face, a child's need for food is more immediate than his need for emotional and cognitive support. The current situation regarding the child in Latin America, for example, reveals this in starkest form. There are approximately 38 million children who live in a situation of extreme poverty; 700,000 children die each year before reaching their first birthday and 30 million under the age of 6 suffer some degree of malnutrition. In Central America, children live in countries at war or in a state of social strife. Instead of childhood games, fantasies and dreams, they experience violence, death, torture, insecurity and psychological imbalances. These children's educational needs are very different from those who belong to, for example, migrant groups, who leave an economically less developed country to live in a more

developed one where there are more chances of paid work.

26. In the last 30 years many so-called Third World countries have also experienced demographic changes of particular importance. Mass migrations from rural areas to towns have brought about profound changes in the ways of life of many people. There are many reasons for these migrations – for example, the semi-feudal land distribution system in many countries often leads to under-employment of the family workforce and almost total lack of access by rural people to basic services such as health and education. The children of migrant families are most affected by the transition process. Normally the family ends up living in the shanty towns, lacking even the most basic conditions for a decent life. This rural exodus also changes child-rearing habits. The length of the mother's nursing period falls; her milk is replaced by commercial baby-food which is often low in proteins and presents other dangers to child health. In sum, the migratory process has encouraged a breakdown of traditional extended family patterns and other support systems which gave help and support to the young family in rural areas. All of this has been aggravated by internal political upheavals and their negative consequences for the overall development of the child.

27. The formal response to this problem in many Latin American countries for example has been to direct educational programmes at child and family. A decade or more of "early stimulation" programmes has been largely superceded by "integrated attention", again directed at the child. More recently these efforts have broadened further to direct themselves specifically to the family. There has been a related tendency to opt for costly ventures in the mass media. The case for this approach has rested on, first, the inability of formal education and care systems to reach significant numbers of families in need of support and, secondly, the general argument that the most sustained influence on the child's life is the family. Parent and family-directed programmes, it is argued, transmit culture and behaviour patterns. They can thus play a vital part in shaping the attitudes of the coming generation.

28. At the same time, it is important not to over-idealise "the family", at least in its assumed traditional form, since its structure has so lost cohesion that it is now suffering a crisis, as can be seen from statistics from widely differing cultures. In Colombia in one year 400,000 cases of family disintegration were brought to the Colombian Institute for Family Welfare, an organisation responsible among other things for the defence of the family. In some Latin American countries more than 40% of children do not know who their fathers are. In the U.K. in 1973, one child in twenty had experienced living in a one-parent family; by 1980 this had reached one in eight. In London alone, by 1982 one child in three had experienced this phenomenon.

29. The role of the various members of the family unit has also undergone constant changes particularly with regard to affective relationships between parents and children. The same holds true for marriage, particularly because of changes in sexual behaviour, the emancipation of women and the increasingly common pattern of mothers working outside the home. This should have been accompanied by greater equality in task distribution. Instead, however, women have retained prime responsibility for holding together the family unit, rearing children and contributing economi-

cally to the support of the family. The resultant stresses are self-evident, whilst as yet educational and social services have not been able fully to adjust to this new situation.

30. The reasons for the trend towards mass media programmes directed towards the family are therefore obvious. Again, however, such programmes have major disadvantages over and above the issue of cost and indeterminate benefit. They tend to be normative, reductionist and work towards hypothetical situations without any specific local orientation or cultural definition. In this sense then they are antithetical to the multi-cultural education argument. There are, however, mass-level programmes, notably the non-formal pre-school programmes in Mexico directed towards the family, which are sufficiently flexible and open in their structures to permit adaptation to local cultural needs, particularly the needs of micro-cultures. Such models, which have advantages of scale *and* flexibility, merit particular attention in the current debate on low cost, community-sensitive programmes.

31. In all the debate on family-oriented programmes, one point merits continuous restatement. There is a need to guard against the dangers of addressing the family – a dynamic, living organism – in linear, medical fashion, as if it were a problem to be treated. Initiatives should be avoided "where a disease is suspected, a diagnosis is made, a drug is prescribed and a cure is hoped for".

32. Where the basic survival needs of children are unmet, these clearly demand priority in intervention programmes. Thereafter, in seeking to devise effective programmes, the multi-cultural issue asserts itself. Programmes concerned with addressing basic needs also benefit from taking special cultural features and resources into account. As the basic needs issue becomes integrated into intervention programmes in early childhood education, qualitative questions relating to educational content are posed. For this, play is clearly a starting point for the young child in many cultures – and one that is pertinent for both parent and teacher.

33. It is through play that the child continually arranges and re-arranges the symbols which enable him to increase his understanding of the world. Through the ever-changing patterning of language and bodily action, he engages with and comprehends his immediate environment and his place within it. This can enable him gradually to understand not only his own situation but, crucially, his position in relation to others. It lends him to look at his world from different perspectives. Through interactive play with others, the child can build into his practical knowledge personal experience of other children and adults, irrespective of their ethno-social background or characteristics.

34. In the multi-cultural setting, the use of play as an instrument of growth requires care and wisdom. The child from a minority culture risks his identity whenever he enacts a role through play. The play is "for real" and he inhabits elements of a new person each time he enters into it. When his language or his clothes or his behaviour are changing, as he enters the play, the educator has to be specially sensitive to the socio-cultural and psychological factors involved.

35. Pre-school provision should reflect and extend the use of language and play which the parents have used with the child since he was born. As long as there is a strong strand of continuity, new linguistic and social skills can be introduced at a fairly rapid rate. As long as the child's earlier skills are not truncated in the pre-school, the child's capacity for mastering double strands of skills (leading to bi-culturalism or bi-lingualism, for example) is remarkable. For example, a secure and stimulated child can rapidly become relatively fluent in a second language if he has need of it as a new skill in his immediate setting.

36. Where the child's mother tongue is not used effectively, for whatever reason, the curriculum in the early years should be organised so as to build up that language during his first years at school. These early years should not be used for transitional programmes of bi-lingualism where the dual language of the early years gives way to a uni-lingual curriculum using the dominant language. The aim should be to maintain elements at least of a bi-lingual programme throughout the period of formal school attendance and, if possible, to reinforce this through the work of community groups representing the culture of origin outside the school.

37. In multi-lingual communities, where a number of languages are spoken, the problems facing parents and teachers become more complex. Pre-school provision should strive to strengthen the child's first language and culture while introducing him systematically to the dominant language and its culture. Parents from the dominant and minority language communities should be involved in the work of the pre-school so as to give the children direct contact with their various cultures.

Bi-lingual and Bi-cultural Education in the Classroom

38. In a world where the future becomes ever more difficult to predict, it is nevertheless clear that multi-cultural societies are not going to disappear. More likely, an increasing migration of peoples within and across national boundaries will continue, with occasional fluctuations due to economic factors. The figures from one continent alone reveal the sheer scale of such movement. There are an estimated 17 million immigrants in the 7 major European countries of immigration, now representing 7.5% of the total population of the United Kingdom, West-Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, France and Sweden. In European Economic Community countries, there are no less than 30 million people who speak a minority or lesser used language. This is, of course, no more than the continuation, though at a much greater rate, of a state of affairs which has existed for thousands of years. Which European people can really claim to be indigenous?

39. Not surprisingly perhaps, the attitudes of the host communities were at times ambivalent and the problems brought about by racism at worst, and benign neglect at best, have been the cause of natural resentment from those on the receiving end. Communities where the indigenous peoples are in the minority, for example in Peru and in the United States, have produced parallel reactions.

40. In such fluid situations, where the cultural dominance of the majority groups is felt so heavily, the language of the minorities – arguably their main means of cultural expression and survival – is increasingly threatened. Although the repressive laws forbidding people to speak their own languages, once common in so many countries, have now been largely removed, they have in fact been replaced by other more inhibiting and more pervasive forces.

41. The media are one such powerful constraining influence. Almost invariably operating in the dominant language, television, radio and newspapers influence all, but particularly the young. The influence of school, with the likelihood of being taught in a second language, is also powerful. Then, too, the peer-group exerts its influence. Slowly but surely the status of the mother-tongue is dragged down in the eyes of those upon whom its survival depends.

42. Parents sometimes proclaim a love for their own language and cultural heritage but believe, all too often, that it will hold back the progress of their children in the wider culture. Parents may therefore attempt to educate children in "school" language, even though their own grasp of this may be less than adequate. As a result, their children's basic language competence suffers. Parents are often puzzled when they observe their children's later rejection of the language of the home, and problems arise within the family affecting close contact and communication which are essential for the child's socialisation and effective development.

43. It is when the child comes into contact with formal education that his inter-cultural conflict is internalised and becomes a major issue. It thus behoves educationists to take some hard decisions about strategies to be adopted if children and their parents are to be able to work together, both in and out of school, to promote mutual development and learning.

44. Serious doubts have been cast on the effectiveness of the school as an instrument for maintaining minority languages if those languages are ignored in other sectors of people's lives. Research in minority language schools in the U.S.A. concluded that "schools are not powerful enough as social institutions to counteract the transethnifying and translinguifying forces of large-scale, modern, urban, industrial society". It found that the contribution of these schools to language maintenance had been "rather limited". The school only reflects society. It cannot on its own radically change it.

45. Immersion programmes with English-speaking Canadian children in French speaking schools have been remarkably successful. These children became not only fluent and competent in French, but more so in English than their monolingual English-speaking peers. Also, they were positive towards French-Canadians and their culture and wished to be part of it. It should be noted that in the Canadian situation both languages are of high vitality and status. Where one language is dominant, or where there are many languages, the immersion model may not be as relevant. Nevertheless, just as the school can be an instrument of cultural dislocation, it can also be just as powerful a capacity for assisting inter-cultural collaboration, provided the will is there and the appropriate decisions are taken. It is necessary in bi-lingual and

bi-cultural communities for the formal system of schooling to be organised to enable the child to become fluent and literate in both his languages. The curriculum should be organised so that comprehensive themes can be developed through each language, in ways which reflect the culture and history carried by that particular language.

46. In bi-lingual/bi-cultural schooling the elements of each culture should be offered to the child in a sustained and holistic way rather than as dissociated bits and pieces. Much of the cynicism concerning the effectiveness of bi-cultural schooling results from the piecemeal fashion in which the school work is organised. A "Turkish week", for example, within a year's programme of learning, is mere tokenism.

47. Where a community is bi-lingual and bi-cultural, the school should provide the means by which the child is educated through each culture and each language. This can mean, in certain countries, that the young child has to learn one of the languages in the school setting. One language will not carry two whole and separate cultures for very long. The aim is to help the child become fluent and literate in the languages of both cultures.

48. The demands made on the teachers who work effectively in the bi-lingual/bi-cultural classroom are very high. They are expected to provide a learning environment based on the best of current accepted practice and to do so through at least two languages running concurrently in the classroom and throughout the school. New skills are also required from them if they are to link with parents as a learning resource, not least to address the vital issues of cultural relevance, as well as using other external and community sources of support. Where the teacher has been encouraged and supported in gaining and applying these varied pedagogic and social skills, the results for children, parents, community groups and the education system itself have been stimulating.

49. Cost-effective alternatives to centrally produced learning materials are a major need. Of particular concern is their cultural and local relevance, enhancing their educational value. The need is for learning materials appropriate for each setting if the teacher is to achieve her goals. The provision of educationally stimulating books and other learning materials in the minority language presents a problem in many countries. The economics of educational publishing is such that it is difficult to have materials of high quality produced in the minority language. A two-pronged approach has been developed in many such settings where materials which grow out of the culture are produced locally. Here "glossiness" is not an important consideration. This can then be supplemented by multi-language publishing ventures which produce quality material of general relevance. This latter material, while in the minority language, is not specific to any one culture.

50. In countries where there are strong regional languages and cultures, children throughout that country should be familiarised with them and facilities provided to learn regional languages where this is required. Regional cultures should be presented on a national scale through a thematic and sustained historical approach and not as minimal and disjointed provision.

51. In learning situations where there are several languages present in the classroom, the task for the teacher is to strengthen the capacity of children in the dominant language while simultaneously strengthening their awareness of the other cultures represented in the class, with the longterm aim of promoting greater understanding and tolerance between peoples. This in itself creates a new and demanding range of teaching skills. The teacher's conventional training is unlikely to have prepared her for what is now expected of her. This is especially so if she is to link with the parents of multi-cultural groups and to involve them in the work of the school so as to provide first-hand experience of language diversity for her pupils. Again the need for better teacher training is highlighted, training which will pay special attention to providing teachers with the skills required to support small group work and to involve parents, para-professionals and local people from different backgrounds in the work of the school.

52. In the 1960's it was not unusual to read statements about minority pupils such as the following: "The result is that in school they find little incentive in activities where the goal is distant.... They have a weak sense of the future.... They do poorly on tests, are often inept in discussions and uncommunicative.... Curriculum and methods especially geared to the needs of culturally deprived children include reliance on non-verbal communication, fitting the cognitive complexity of tasks to the capabilities of pupils". These are typically mistaken starting points for bi-lingual/bi-cultural education and can presumably explain some of the shortcomings of programmes based on these conventional assumptions.

53. There is an alternative case pointing to important decisions which must be made as to how the cultural background of the children be best accommodated in the classroom. The project at the University of Umea, Sweden, "Multi-Cultural Education of the Young Child", is a critical case in point. After intensive discussions with teachers, heads of schools, administrators and parents, parents are encouraged to play an active part in the work of the school and to take the initiative with pupils. Project outcomes demonstrate that the kinds of stereotypes mentioned above are indeed the result of poor or inappropriate curricula, teaching methods, training and support systems and – crucially – attitudes, primarily on the part of teachers. Project children have instead shown levels of school performance and personal motivation to learn which are at least on a par with those of children from the majority culture. In addition, inter-ethnic relationships between children, and their parents, have gained strongly in tolerance – in marked contrast to the situation prevailing in the society at large.

54. To achieve this, the project found that much time had to be devoted to the discussion and development of teaching materials. The set values and beliefs in centrally produced learning materials had to be made clear to the teachers so that they could be made aware of their shortcomings and then stimulated to devise alternatives based on local resources. It was important for them to be aware of the fact that children also learn by talking about themselves, their ideas and experiences and that they learn from each other in and out of school as much as from published materials or from teachers.

55. Negative images of themselves obviously have a damaging effect on children, especially children from minority groups. Minority children in 1984 still have to suffer seeing themselves and their culture deprecated. Many studies have shown that minority children can go through a stage of rejecting their cultural identity. This harmful response decreases when minority groups can experience pride in themselves and their heritage. Multi-cultural or bi-lingual/bi-cultural education can offer such opportunities, reinforcing the child's sense of personal worth. However, multi-cultural education can, all too easily, become no more than a random treatment of exotic topics, foreign food, and so on. Effective bi-lingual/bi-cultural education is more than a decorative programme. It has the promise of providing a complete educational environment, not limited to the classrooms, but reaching out into the community and incorporating its resources. In bi-lingual/bi-cultural education the minority language and background is a positive resource and teacher attitudes to these are as important as specific skills. Lack of firm information about the long-term efforts of bi-cultural education on children's school attainment levels causes conflicts and doubt among parents and educators alike. Additionally, attitudes towards minorities, in some cases discriminatory or even racist, limit teachers' and parents' freedom to experiment. It has to be recognised though that decisions regarding bi-lingual/bi-cultural education tend to be taken on the basis of political criteria rather than empirical findings.

56. Proven examples of quality bi-lingual education are, however, all characterised by long-term planning involving community, school personnel and parents. Educationalists should beware of initiatives which oblige schools to produce *ad hoc* responses. Policy-makers ought to remember that the best defence of bi-cultural/bi-lingual *programmes* is successful bi-cultural/bi-lingual *education*, soundly planned and conceived. The challenge is greater than that offered by traditional forms of education and has to be treated as such if it is to be met.

Strengthening the Community's Capacity in the Education of the Child

57. Interventions in support of the young child, faced with the special challenges of living and learning in a multi-cultural environment, can be vitiated if they confine themselves to one dimension only of the child's existence. Such efforts must, to be effective, adopt a more global approach to the child in his cultural, material and social environment. This means a greater stress than has been the case so far upon broadly anthropological approaches to the community. Its inner forces and essential cultural and material capital can then be used as a resource for development. Such an assessment means that it is possible to devise long-term sensitive strategies, – perhaps somewhat slow – which both enlist and build on the community's support and strengthen its capacity to care for and educate its children.

58. This must be seen against the crisis of adaptation which is being faced especially by traditional communities in their relationship to the modern world. Even under pressure the traditional community may succeed in preserving a cultural richness and stubborn ability to survive and develop even when facing a society which is frequently

unsympathetic to its core values. In fact, such communities would appear to have relatively few options. It may seem that they must either adapt completely and accept assimilation to "modern" society, with all its consequences, or conduct a last ditch, unthinking defence of all that the traditional society, good and bad, stands for. Such a rigid position tends to be the loser.

59. A third alternative is also possible. This, however, demands that cultures themselves determine what are their most productive and important characteristics, if they are to retain stability and yet progress. The key values and characteristics upon which a new hope for neglected communities can emerge seem to be a stress on effective person-to-person communication, willingness to participate in collective tasks and to work together to devise a harmonious coexistence within a particular setting. This approach contrasts markedly with the artificiality of urban existence and the vulnerability of the individual within it, where communication takes place through intermediaries and responsibility for the individual is assumed by professionals and bureaucrats. Faced with the growing forces of urbanism, the traditional community must either respond positively, based on its own resources, or it will disintegrate, often without complaining or perhaps even recognising this, as its values are eroded.

60. It has to be recognised that some traditional values can be destructive or merely serve to maintain the established order. It is, however, clear that even these contain a balance of forces, positive and negative. For example the traditional agrarian society, despite the challenges it had to face, had an interest in striving for a balanced existence, a close relationship with its environment and in promoting group solidarity as the basis for community stability. Intervention through education in societies which retain some sense of themselves in these term requires sensitivity in identifying and maintaining elements of value. The skill seems to be in understanding how to change what it is necessary to change, and how to maintain constructive elements, using these as the basis for investigating new possibilities also. The aim should then be to build upon existing structures which are capable of further growth in a new context. For this to occur, communities need to be able themselves to assess what aspects of their traditions are no longer of benefit to them, without abandoning those special strengths which can be transferred into new social settings to meet new needs. The alternative is social dislocation.

61. When traditional society loses confidence in itself and its ability to educate and care for its children in a known context over which it has control, it passes responsibility for this to anonymous and often alien professionals. Their standardised interventions can only accelerate the decline in the strength and self-image of the community. The detached professional tends to denigrate community knowledge in favour of the received wisdom from outside, wisdom which inevitably is alien to the context in which the people live. The process of divorcing the family from its cultural tap-root is accentuated and no usable substitute is offered.

62. Once again the educator's hope lies in the child. If change is to be an organic process and not an alien event, then the child constitutes the best possible point of entry in the change process and the motivating force for the family to reconsider its

goals. The child is the focus around which the values held by home, family and school can regroup and be renewed. The educator, in seeking to benefit the child, can draw together otherwise opposing or uncoordinated groups and through them critically influence the child's and the community's future. These groups may influence both professionals and local people, in addition to children from differing social or cultural backgrounds. The new element in this process is the changed role of the educator.

63. The bond between parent and child should be the central pivot of educational activities. Building on this bond can strengthen the parents' capacity to care for and educate their children. The family is the most important element – and is likely to remain so – as far as the physical, emotional and educational care of the child is concerned. The world has not discovered a better system than the family to achieve this, although it too is affected by social instability and changes and by lack of access to knowledge-based education which might assist the process of coping with change. Here again a new challenge to the educator is presented.

64. This challenge can only be met by helping the community realise the value of, and the reasons for, its participation in education, using resources within itself rather than those from outside. The community has to perceive a commitment to educational change, not for the benefit of the outsiders, but for itself and its children. Through participation in education, the community builds up its capacity to provide for its children and at the same time strengthens its ability to cope with the present and to define its own future on its own terms.

65. Coming together to meet the challenge represented by the child's learning needs can, then, help parents to see themselves in new ways. This is the basis for parents' assessment of their approach to their children's education and their role in it. Teachers for their part must know the cultural access-points in the local community. If they do not, they run the grave risk of failing the child and the community they pretend to address. Many teachers find it exceedingly difficult to communicate with parents and use an inappropriate didactic approach, thus preserving their control of the "knowledge".

66. The best strategies for bringing together parents and teachers derive from the immediate realities of life in school and community. The aim is to facilitate contact and to ensure that all concerned, parents, teachers, and community members feel that such exchanges are of direct benefit. The home setting can be an especially rewarding point of departure in opening up perhaps hesitant parents to the notion of their necessary involvement in their child's education. It is crucial in enabling parents and teachers, especially those from different ethnic or social backgrounds, to build up mutual understanding and trust based on direct social contact. Their knowledge of each others' cultural background has to be direct and personal if it is to be effective.

67. Teachers who have not been able to overcome difficulties in relating to and understanding *parents* from different social or cultural backgrounds can hardly be expected to create effective learning situations for the *children* from such backgrounds. Training, sensitive to varying social and cultural backgrounds, therefore is of

paramount importance in reinforcing the communication skills of parents and teachers. Both may be entering largely unknown territory.

68. A useful framework which has been followed with some success by builders of school-based programmes seeking to involve parents is:

Raising consciousness – a general climate of opinion is created that "schooling" can become relevant to the needs of the whole community;

Collaboration – parents and others are gradually associated as collaborators in the general life of school and grow in understanding of their possible roles within it;

Involvement – parents become actively involved in the school in productive and creative ways; teachers are reinforced and their work transformed through this process;

Participation – parents contribute as genuine partners, in the school and in the classroom. They bring their own ideas and energies to bear on all aspects of the child's education.

69. In schools where such an approach has been implemented, outcomes, although varied, have been encouraging. Not only has children's attainment markedly improved but the confidence of parents has reached the stage where they take charge of furthering their own education after their experience of inadequate "schooling".

70. Where parents are organising supplementary classes serving the needs of particular cultural backgrounds outside the school, attempts should be made to support them in developing appropriate learning materials and provide access to more formal training as and when necessary. Otherwise children from minority backgrounds may experience daytime schooling through modern educational approaches and supplementary classes in traditional didactic style.

Conclusions

71. The debate on multi-cultural education is far from over. Indeed in many ways the issues are still only being investigated. Experimental work has not yet had the chance to reveal its long-term effects. Despite some evidence that "new shadows appear at local and national level", and that these have had the effect of prompting some retrograde steps at policy level, there has been in the last decade a widespread change: a consciousness of the plurality of our societies and its educational implications. This plurality, now better understood, has in turn prompted some movement away from traditional assumptions about the nature of education for communities which differ in their cultural heritage. The essence of these changed assumptions surely lies in the demand that there be a natural reflection of *all* cultures in the school system. Without this the thrust of the educational process is dissipated.

72. Motivation to learn is based upon the understanding that learning can both relate

to and enhance life's possibilities. Educational styles which only emphasise children's lack of knowledge in approved content areas have clearly been shown to diminish children's sense of their own capacities, present and future. Mono-cultural teaching in effect discriminates between those children who know the prescribed rituals and formulas and those who do not. The minority child is unable to have access to or review the experience of others because he has no starting point for such a process. Effective learning begins in the child's own sphere of living, encouraging the sense of achievement which derives from understanding and mastery. The child is then stimulated to build and explore new realities, based on his success and improvement in self-confidence. Such a basis for continued growth – both intellectual and in terms of the child as a whole person – is not possible when the child feels diminished within the education system and does not have the skills to draw upon his own or others' experience.

73. A mono-cultural, or nominally multi-cultural, learning environment has the effect of limiting and repressing active participation by children who sense that they are regarded as second-rate learners, perhaps because they have a different mother tongue. Such children are frequently regarded also as disadvantaged socially. The negative effects of teachers' social categorisation of young children on their progress within the school system are well known. Children from minority groups may therefore experience disabling socialisation *and* learning patterns within formal systems of education. This relates primarily to the quality of teaching. Interest by school systems in improving this, and in lessening the effects of negative learning patterns, may be based on several factors, especially cost. The school system is a costly intensive form of preparation of children for adult life. Widespread pupil failure must be expensive in the short and longer term for all involved.

74. Early pupil drop-out, a common phenomenon world-wide, is a final statement by the child of school's cultural and educational irrelevance and his own perceived inability to match its expectations. By placing the child outside the established system, school failure also ensures that re-entry at a later stage will be impossible or problematic. Similarly, only the most menial forms of work may be accessible because of the drop-outs' lack of qualifications, the pre-requisite for most training and employment opportunities. Where innovative schemes are set up to attract children who have "failed" into new learning situations, the main difficulty in sustaining these is that of cost. Prevention, rather than attempted later remediation, is preferable both because of cost factors and because it avoids the damage caused to the child's self-image by educational "failure".

75. The question of job satisfaction for teachers is also critical. Better teaching cannot be achieved by fiat. Teachers, like parents, are encouraged when children participate satisfactorily. Teachers without adequate preparation for the multi-cultural school, who teach according to mono-cultural norms, are themselves likely to feel frustrated by poor attainment levels among their pupils and their dislocation from the local community setting. Reduced job satisfaction in turn lessens teacher effectiveness and leads to the diminished stability of the teaching force, contributing to high turn-over, low morale and personal dissatisfaction. Again, such sequences are nega-

tive and harmful to all concerned in the long and short term.

76. The fundamental requirement for a more productive social environment for learning must be better collaboration between home and school, for both form the total environment in which the child learns. This process is likely to be as instructive for schools as for communities and may well entail acquisition of new, more flexible attitudes by both. The process is a challenging one. There is, however, little alternative if children of minority cultures are not to find themselves the passive recipients of educational methods and techniques constructed without reference to their needs and potential. The school often assumes still the role of the only "educator" yet parents have a strong contribution to make, first and foremost in acquainting educators with the culture of the home. Where parents and community members are not involved in creating the content and atmosphere of school-based education, educators run the risk of offering forms of education based on outdated or misunderstood cultural stereotypes. This is true of much nominal multi-cultural education in which content is reduced to formulas derived from text books and not related therefore to local realities.

77. Multi-cultural education should not be a matter of weekly lessons on ethnic clothes, food or housing. It is instead a realistic attempt to help children understand cultural values, their own and other peoples, and how these are expressed in communities' own life-styles. All cultures are, by definition, equal in fact and as a learning resource. Multi-cultural education can also contribute substantially to inter-cultural understanding and mutual tolerance between groups within our plural, but sadly divided, world. Where properly constituted, it leads not to further marginalisation of minorities but to greater individual security and overall social stability deriving from a complex balance of mutual trust and understanding. The task may seem overwhelming, should schools assume the burden alone. The school cannot change society, even if it wished to. Yet it *is* a surprisingly powerful resource in aiding the child's socialisation and acquisition of learning skills and is thus a powerful formative force in society, especially as its work relates to both children and adults.

78. Within non-formal early childhood education in particular, much can be done to prepare parents, community members, children, professionals and local services for a long-term collaborative relationship to sustain such initiatives. The success of programmes in this area depends on the skills of professionals in grasping the realities of each unique family and community setting and in responding to these creatively and non-judgmentally. The most effective approaches are likely to be founded therefore on equality and trust, not the assumed right for professionals to demonstrate correct behaviour. Such informality accords particularly well with the role of the para-professional home-visitor or other peer support action on which much productive work in the early years is based.

79. The essence of such innovative work lies in the ability of the intervention agent to identify and build on indigenous resources in a way which minimises weaknesses and enhances strengths in parents, children, homes and communities. This, in multicultural settings in particular, demands the ability to identify the useful characteristics of each setting for learning and progress, without following the flawed path of im-

porting external "solutions". Joint identification with parents of significant learning goals within that culture is preferable. It is important, then, to recognise that there is no single answer, no single global "curriculum". Each programme must work out its own answers, based on these fundamental principles and with a strong awareness of the cross-cultural range of experience – positive and negative – which exists as a basis for growth.

80. The aim is for all people to have equitable access to the institutions which purport to serve them, educational and otherwise. This will not be achieved if majority cultures continue to regard minorities as cases of social deprivation rather than a potential asset. Is it surprising that many dominant cultures find it difficult to see the strengths of its minorities given their history of colonialism and imperialism, both at home and overseas? It is expecting a lot of them now to perceive minorities in a new and positive light. Have their responses not been characterised by cultural reductionism, or the automatic assumption that modernisation must be based on the dominant culture's norms? This implies flattening out all differences and working towards a supposed universal cultural norm. Can these now become, not merely in word but in deed, culturally democratic? The future of children in one multi-cultural world hangs upon the ability of all our societies to meet the challenge of these questions boldly and imaginatively.

List of Participants and Observers

Participants

Dr. José Amar Amar
Proyecto Costa Atlantica
Universidad del Norte
BARRANQUILLA
Colombia

Mr. Farid Abu Gosh
East Jerusalem Early Childhood and
Community Education Programme
JERUSALEM
Israel

Dra. Josephina Baiocchi
Secretaria da Educação e Cultura
BRASILIA
Brazil

Dra. Ana Benavente
Institute of Development Studies
LISBON
Portugal

Dra. Clara Victoria Colbert
Vice-Minister of Education
BOGOTA
Colombia

Ms. Lucille Echohawk
Council of Energy Resource Tribes
ENGLEWOOD(Colorado)
U.S.A.

Dra. Guadalupe Elizondo Vega
Director-General
Department of Initial Education
MEXICO
Mexico

Mr. Patrick Favreau
Breton Schools Association
TREGLONOU
France

Dra. Maria Jose Garcia Armendariz
Education Department of the
Basque Government
VITORIA
Spain

Dr. Antonio Gil Rico
Fontebova Rural Training Centre
CORISTANCO
Spain

Dr. Eivind Brastad Jensen
Tromso College of Education
TROMSO
Norway

Dr. Mari-Luci Jaramillo
College of Education
University of New Mexico
ALBUQUERQUE(New Mexico)
U.S.A.

Prof. Hans-Henning Johansson
Department of Education
University of Umea
UMEA
Sweden

Dr. Ben Kooiker
Directorate for the Coordination of Policy
for Minorities
Ministry of Home Affairs
THE HAGUE
Netherlands

Mrs. Ozden Kutluer
Foundation for Immigrant Women's Action
HAARLEM
Netherlands

Dr. Finlay MacLeod
Western Isles Community
Education Project
STORNOWAY
United Kingdom

Mrs. Mapitso Malepa
Entokozweni Early Learning Centre
KWA-XUMA
South Africa

Prof. Federico Mayor Zaragoza
Faculty of Sciences
Universidad Autonoma de Madrid
MADRID
Spain

Dra. Celia Merino Rodriguez
Programa Andalucia
GRANADA
Spain

Dra. Margarita Muset
Department of Education of the
Catalan Government
BARCELONA
Spain

Ms. Clair O'Toole
Connemara Community Education Project
GALWAY
reland

Mr. Roy Padayachie
Chatsworth Early Learning Centre
DURBAN
South Africa

Mr. Christian Petry
Regional Centre for the Education
of Guestworkers
ESSEN
Fed. Rep. of Germany

Dr. Jean-Pierre Pourtois
Faculté de Sciences Psycho-Pédagogiques
Université de l'Etat a Mons
MONS
Belgium

Mr. John Renne
Community Education Development Centre
COVENTRY
United Kingdom

Dr. Luis Rigal
Centro de Investigaciones Educativas
BUENOS AIRES
Argentina

Ms. Simcha Salach
Morasha Centre for Early Childhood
and Family Education
RAMAT HASHARON
Israel

Mr. Lary Shafer
Department of Rural Development
University of Alaska
FAIRBANKS (Alaska)
U.S.A.

Mrs. Leni van Son
Alderman for Education and Welfare
Municipality of Haarlem
HAARLEM
Netherlands

Dr. Joaquin Tena Artigas
Fundacion General Mediterranea
MADRID
Spain

Mrs. Marilyn Thomas
Miami Valley Child Development Centre
DAYTON (Ohio)
U.S.A.

International Observers

United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
Ms. Ida Subaran
PARIS
France

Organisation of American States (OAS)
Dra. Maria L. Martinez
WASHINGTON DC
U.S.A.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation
and Development (OECD)
Mr. Norberto Bottani
PARIS
France

National Observers

Da. Luisa Almenzar Rodriguez
Escuela Universitaria de Formacion del Profesorado de Educacion General Basica
GRANADA

Da. Josefina Capilla Jimenez
Servicio de Educacion Pre-escolar
Delegación Provincial de
Educación y Ciencia
MADRID

D. Manuel Duran Canizares
Colegio "La Paz"
MONTERRIO

Da. Joaquina Gallego Jorreto
Departamento de Educacion General Basica
Delegación de Educacion y Ciencia
ORENSE

D. Ramon Gutiérrez Jaimez
Facultad de Ciencias
Universidad de Granada
GRANADA

D. Fernando Herrera Garcia
Delegación de Educacion y Ciencia
CORDOBA

Da. Dossi Espineida
Programa Galicia
CORISTANCO

D. Antonio Higueruelo Estrella
Delegación de Educación y Ciencia
JAEN

D. Fernando Justicia Justicia
Facultad de Filosofia y Letras
Universidad de Granada
GRANADA

D. Manuel Lorenzo Delgado
Instituto de Ciencias de la Educacion
Universidad de Granada
GRANADA

Da. M. Luz Garcia Manuel
Delegación Provincial de
Educación y Ciencia
SEVILLA

D. Luis Mateos Canelo
Delegación de Educación y Ciencia
GRANADA

Da. Mercedes Ortega Carrasco
Colegio Pre-escolar "Generalife"
GRANADA

Dr. Salvador Peiró
Sociedad Española de Pedagogia Comparada
Universidad de Granada
GRANADA

D. Antonio Roca Roca
Instituto de Ciencias de la Educacion
Universidad de Granada
GRANADA

D. Oscar Saenz Barrio
Escuela Universitaria de Formación del Profesorado de Educación General Basica
GRANADA

D. Antonio Solana Camerero
Escuela Hogar
MONTERRIO

Fundación General Mediterránea

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Bernard van Leer Foundation Publications

Available from the Foundation

- *Newsletter* – Regular Issues; Condensation in Spanish *La Red Informa* 1 × per year.
- *Current Programme* – English or Spanish.

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